1: Nimuendaju? E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Branca (pl. 1, *a*) the Krahõ′ had a similar hut, which stood about three hundred meters behind the circle of houses.

Several Indians engaged in pig breeding had erected well-built roofs 2 m. square under which the beasts could sleep in bad weather if they so chose; they were not forcibly enclosed there. The tame taitetú pigs always used for ceremonial slaughter at certain festivities are kept in cages 1 m. high, which the owners generally put up in front of their houses, at the inner margin of the boulevard. A cage consists of upright poles roofed with palm fronds.

The few Indians who raise fowls keep them behind the dwelling in little gable roofs resting directly on the ground and constructed of poles, pieces of bark, and old mats. At night they are barred with pieces of wood. The structure, like the poultry itself, was borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

The exceptional little stall for strangers which the Apa′nyekra put up in Porquinhos has been mentioned (p. 40). No Timbira tribe has a men's or bachelors' house corresponding to the warã of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.[35] Meetings are held in the plaza outdoors, which is also the general sleeping place of the young men.

Away from the village the Rąmkõ′kamekra, so far as they require any form of shelter, erect the following forms of hut. If the cultivated plots are far away, a hut is put up for the period that requires the owners' presence. Such a structure is not erected in the plantation itself, but in the steppe in front of the *galeria* forest. Usually it is rectangular and gable-roofed, smaller and less massive than the fixed dwellings. However, occasionally the old beehive type (ikré yiróno) occurs—a hemispherical form about 1.80 m. in height inside. The framework consists of eight or more thin trunks stuck into the ground in a circle and bent together at the top, the branches being interlaced into walls, or—rarely—tied together. There are no special horizontal hoops. This skeleton is covered round about with palm fronds, their tips up, their ribs in vertical position; other fronds are laid on top crisscross. This shelter, if carefully set up, is altogether rainproof except for some leakage at the bottom. On one side there is left an entrance 1½ m. in height.

Similar, but as a rule less carefully built, are the huts of temporary encampments, such as all the steppe Timbira erect when large companies of them are hunting or away for some special task. In that case the arrangement of the huts is uniformly circular, all doors facing the center, and the female owners observe the same order that prevails in the village. These huts are made exclusively by the women; even men who camp beyond the settlement without their families never erect such structures (pl. 7, *a*).

The question now arises: Did the Timbira originally have only such beehive huts or did they have larger, substantial dwellings in their fixed villages? Several facts support the latter alternative. The beehive huts cannot accommodate either the regular platform beds or the elevated compartments of the young girls, or an extended family. Further, it would be impossible to shelter the boys in a single house on the east or west side during the first stage of initiation, for even in 1930 there were twice sixteen novices among the Rąmkõ′kamekra, and the number was doubtless larger in former times. It would be equally impossible to put up a special cell in a beehive hut for one or more boys at the terminal phase of initiation. Moreover, a beehive hut could not serve as the meeting place of any of the festive societies, with their membership ranging from 15 to 30; and to an even greater extent does the vų′tę′ institution (p. 92) require large houses, for in 1933 the number of men who assembled was 54 and 57, respectively. I am convinced that if all these cere-

[35] Nimuendajú and Lowie, 408.

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881 No sooner had the two age classes in the plaza caught sight of them than they ran shouting toward them, hurling burity staves 1 m. long at them; then they retreated to the plaza again. The girls divided their numbers along three of the radial paths and in their turn took the offensive with a volley of babassu and other nuts. They pounced upon the men, grappled with them, and tried to throw them. There ensued general wrestling bouts, lasting for only a few seconds and closing with the men's victory. Only one girl, Kentapí, bowled over her adversary. Now the two factions separated and formed two lines facing each other. Several men offered the girls the fruits they had employed in pelting. In this position they sang for a while, then suddenly united, and turned westward, yelling defiance in chorus at their western neighbors, the Apą'nyekra. Thus ended this ceremony, whose name I was unable to ascertain. It was simply designated as amnyĩkapẽ're (amnyi = reciprocal; kapẽ're, throwing).

Domestic Animals

231 174 I strongly suspect the Timbira of having originally lacked dogs—in other words, any domestic animals. Nowadays every Ponto household has at least two dogs. The breed is mostly characterized by medium size and short hair, a pointed snout, and large erect ears with projecting tips. They are not badly treated, generally receiving some food after the owners' meal. Special attention is devoted to pregnant and suckling bitches; when they are about to give birth, their owners sometimes rig up old mats into a regular confinement cell for them in a corner of the house. Good hunting dogs are rare; nor are their animals particularly violent or given to biting even though they dutifully yelp at every stranger. Since they are hardly ever beaten, they are insolent and forward toward their masters. I have often admired the patience of many an Indian, who while at his meal would again and again push away his importunate dogs with a cautious movement of his hand as though he were dealing with a child. When hard put to it, a native will threaten the dog with a stick, which, however, almost always is deliberately made to strike the ground beside the beast. As stated, some dogs sleep on the platform beds with their masters. When a dog dies, it is buried like a human being, in a pit the mouth of which is covered, and earth is heaped on top.

● [235] At present all steppe Timbira breed pigs and fowls, even though only in small numbers—especially our Canella, whose village harbored some forty pigs (1933) and twelve horses, to boot. They like very much to handle horses and rapidly learn to become good riders. The Krĩkatí were the only one of these tribes that formerly owned a few head of cattle. Very few Timbira keep poultry, and in Ponto there were only two cats. Even today a fair number of Ponto Indians have no animals except dogs. However, Fróes Abreu goes somewhat too far in mentioning as their only true domestic beasts "several sucking pigs."[235] Most of the animals, even some of the horses, belong to the women.

231 Among the merely tamed pets from the forest and steppes the peccaries (usually *Dicotyles labiatus*) play the major role. They are caught young and grow very tame; but must generally be kept in cages to guard against constant brawls with the dogs. The peccaries receive the names of human beings. At the terminal solemnity of certain major festivals (e.g., the two phases of initiation and pepkahą'k) a peccary must be ceremonially killed, made into meat pies, and paid for. The inmates of the house loudly bewail its death, while no particular fuss accompanies the slaughtering of a domestic pig. [552]

[235] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 178.